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A BANDUNG FOR A UN !

HROMADKA ASSAILS COLD WAR

NOTES ON THE HUNGARIAN REVOLT

by Louise Harding

A Rhodes Scholar in Washington

BOOK REVIEW

Letters

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A BANDUNG FOR A UN!

How long will it be before the "Christian" cartels finally ring down the curtain on the ghastly farce, "United Nations"? How long can that East River playhouse keep up the hollow pretense of guarding peace when so recently it sponsored the attack by the US on China through Korea, an attack which according to Reginald Thompson's "Cry Korea", was without parallel in the history of war for its "bestiality and horror?"

How can the United Nations expect to grow in unity and strength while permitting the cancerous Natos and Seatos and Baghdad Pacts to flourish in its own body? And what of its political pretensions when it excludes 600 million Chinese from its parliament, and puts in their place the Chiang-Kung gang of thieves?

The Oil for US Doctrine: And now this so-called Eisenhower Doctrine which is neither "Eisenhower" nor "Doctrine", but a sorry scheme concocted by Dulles while he was recuperating from an operation, a scheme to reach over the shoulders of France and Britain and set the stage for a new grab by US oil interests in the Mid-East. Coddling the Saudi Arabian Slave Empire and elbowing the democratic state of Israel to one side, pretending to be anti-colonial in order to brush off the British and French tenure in those parts, the US through this new aggression writes with large letters for the whole world to see its opinion of the United Nations: Zero.

Will Israel Learn From This? President Eisenhower would be the comic relief in the universal tragedy now unfolding if one could be sufficiently spectator-minded to enjoy his solemn antics. Today he is shooting quail in Georgia and it must be annoying for him to be interrupted by news that Israel has refused his plea to leave Egypt. Yesterday Dulles assured the world that Israel would leave, and who should know, if not Dulles?

How much Israel will have to pay for her mistake in trusting the cartels we don't know, but after the recent love feast between the US and Saudi Arabia we might guess it will be plenty. And there are more love feasts in the offing with others who hate Israel.

This is no time to preach at Israel's leaders or at the Israeli people, standing alone, betrayed by their "friends", in mortal danger yet unafraid, a truly valiant nation caught in the whirlpool of the most cynical power politics. But why on earth did they trust the cartels in the first place and put themselves forward as a buckler for the cartels against Communism? Israel whose very name is a call to moral action placing herself in the camp of those who cuddle with autocrats more absolute than Hitler and as heartless! And what is the UN, servant of the US, doing to save Israel? Less than nothing of course. For Israel wants to live. And the Arabs want Israel to die. And the US wants to please

the Arabs, for the Arabs float on oil and oil belongs as of divine right to the US oil companies. Is it very complicated? No, except for history . . . people.

The Scimitar Flashes and the head of the escaped slave rolls on the sand. That's the king's divine right. The Dollar Diplomat flashes his roll of dollar bills. That's the oil company's divine right. Birds of a feather . . . The oil companies will have no labor troubles in Arabia. The kings will see to that in return for the arms the US will send them with which to keep their people in subjection. It is a simple proposition . . . except for history . . . and people.

History and people are on the march at this moment and the Dollar Diplomat cannot stop them. Sometimes with the encouragement of the USSR and sometimes (because of the squeeze of power politics) without that encouragement the popular agitator is abroad stirring up the people, rousing them to assert that inner dignity we mock with our pious platitudes. Our oil attorney pays the USSR more of a compliment than it deserves when he attributes every popular uprising to Russian agents. However, there can be little doubt that a very large proportion of the democratic yeasting that goes forward in the world today derives from the marxist movement and takes its courage and confidence from the historic revolutions in Russia and China. So, from the fascist point of view, which after all has been his point of view since before World War II) the lawyer for the oil cartel is correct. His instincts are sound fascist instincts. Anti-Communism is his breath and heart-beat. He lives for and dreams of nothing but the destruction of the Communist centers of power. The one thing he can bear least of all is talk of co-existence. He smells a truth in the Communist movement. That truth is the sure death of his Dollar Dictatorship.

We are caught in the vise of a terrible world struggle, a struggle of sheer raw power. It is a moral struggle, but the moral aspect is obscured momentarily by the magnitude of the physical forces that confront one another. There is a great deal of talk in certain circles of limiting the use of atomic warfare to smaller warheads employed only to gain military obpectives. Such talk strikes us as utter nonsense. One might as well talk of jumping only a little way off a precipice. What started in Guernica and continued in Hiroshima will, when the last spark of sanity disappears, end in race suicide. And while the Dulles brothers remain in charge of US foreign affairs there is every likelihood that the last spark of sanity will disappear, for both are madmen.

UN Strangled at Birth: The Nation's correspondent from San Francisco reported concerning the Conference at which the UN was born: ". . . this is a conference for the organization of an anti-Soviet bloc under our (US) leadership." George Seldes in his *The People Don't Know* quotes a message he received from a Congressman concerning the invitation to the Peron fascist dicta-

torship to participate in the Conference (an invitation which constituted one of the first acts in the Cold War): "Nelson Rockefeller is responsible for the entry of Argentina to the San Francisco Conference. He has revealed in an off-the-record talk to Congress the real reasons for this move . . . Reckefeller boasted that the American delegation had tied up the whole Latin American delegation AGAINST Russia. He said, 'We have to keep Argentina in the world organization as a bulwark against communism.' "

Seldes also quotes in the same book several columns by Drew Pearson that had been suppressed "at the insistence of J. P. Morgan & Co. and the Chase Bank," according to Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas. Here are a few excerpts:

"San Francisco, April 25, (1945)—Already certain groups inside the State Department and the British Foreign Office have begun jockeying to build up Germany after the war as a bulwark against Russia. Already United States admirals have focused the attention of the entire world on the island bases we are taking from Japan, so that Russia is becoming suspicious they will be aimed against her . . .

" . . . as long as Roosevelt was in the White House the State Department appeasers kept quiet. However, on the day after his body was buried a meeting of the German Reparations Committee was held in the office of Assistant Secretary Will Clayton at which both the State and War Departments reversed Roosevelt's policy . . . Specifically they argued against the removal of Nazi factories, machine tools, plant equipment, or goods out of Germany. The Russians had proposed the removal of German war plants to build up the hundreds of Russian factories destroyed by Germany . . . Clayton argued that American policy should favor leaving factory equipment and machinery in Germany so she can get back on a sound aconomic basis. He even mentioned the fact that Germany would need to import cotton to manufacture clothes . . . Clayton is the biggest cotton exporter in the world and did a heavy business with the Nazis before the war.

"Another factor making the Russians suspicious is the British demand that food which the Russian Army finds in Germany be used to feed the German people rather than to feed the starving Poles and Russian slave labourers."

After citing a whole list of items making for Russian suspicion, Seldes continues:

"Finally, the Russians are probably most suspicious of the mysterious US espionage organization called OSS. The OSS or Office of Strategic Services has, strangely, distributed some of the most powerful bankers' representatives in the United States of America at key points where they can influence US policy in occupied Germany.

"The roster of OSS men who have been or are operating in Europe reads like a bluestocking list of the first 60 families. It includes: Paul Mellon, son of Andrew Mellon: Junius and Henry

Morgan of the House of Morgan; Alfred duPont; Lester Armour of the Chicago Armours; Gordon Auchincloss; John Auchincloss; Warwick Potter; Harold Coolidge; William Van Allen of the Astor family; and Allen Dulles, attorney for various international bankers with previous connections in Germany. (Note: The Dulles law firm, of which John Foster Dulles, one of the main consultants of the reactionary or Vandenberg wing of the US delegation at San Francisco, is the head, is the attorney of its American Schroeder bank affiliated with the British Schroeders, which had business connections with the Nazi Schroeders. All are relatives).

"This is the kind of underlying suspicion which must be killed immediately and permanently if the machinery of San Francisco is to bring about permanent peace." They were never killed. On the contrary they were confirmed.

There are some particularly nasty revelations of the activities of US, British and Canadian banks in occupied France on pages 325 and 326 of *The People Don't Know,* which we won't bother to quote. But the point is that at San Francisco Russia, bled white from her mauling by the Nazi beast, war-weary and hoping for surcease from war, found herself in the midst of a new war, confronted with enemies bent on her destruction. Her only weapon was the veto, which was only of use for negative ends and could not procure for her the security and reparations to which she felt entitled in view of her great sacrifices. Her use of the veto was turned into propaganda to pillory her as a road-block to peace.

When China Went Socialist, right then and there the US swept the whole foundation of the UN from under it, by interposing its fleet between China and the thieving remnant on Formosa which had escaped the wrath of the Chinese people and had with the help of the US established a fascist regime on that island. And to delight connoisseurs of political insanity the US went on to insist through *its* use of the veto that this remnant should have China's place and vote in the United Nations! Future generations will find this difficult to believe until they recall that this entire generation has been hypnotized into a fear-Russia hate-Russia blame-Russia fixation under which anything goes. Anything, however vile, is good so long as it stems the Reds, rolls back Red power, exposes Red conspiracy and so on ad nauseam.

So, when South Korea attacked North Korea the US twisted the story around and twisted the arms of the United Nations until they went along with the gag. For a while with both Russia and China absent there was no United Nations. And if the Eisenhower Doctrine is implemented once more there will be no United Nations. For this doctrine is a blank check for the Dulles boys to put on burnouses and play games in the desert. Under the desert are not only oil but (in Algeria) all kinds of minerals beckoning to American corporations to come and release them from their long sleep. Strong slave powers are welcome to the

US companies. They mean few at the top to pay off and a settled population to do the necessary work.

France has already walked out of the UN. Both Britain and France effectively by-passed the UN in their joint adventure in Egypt. We foresee much more of this in the future. If the Algerian tribes come within sight of detaching themselves from France it could happen that agents of the world's richest power might pass by and in passing perhaps discuss with their chiefs or leader the possibility of capital autlays in that vast new El Dorado. Algeria is France's hope, the only hope she has left to her, of regaining her former glory. France is going broke and is slighting her obligations to Nato to keep a huge army in Algeria. And the more she puts in the worse things get, so that she is in a very vulnerable position for a hi-jacking operation.

Would the US permit its licensed corporations to engage in such adventures at the expense of friendly nations? Well, the US government has just been defied by 15 major oil companies to which it had delegated the job of increasing the oil flow to Europe. Senator Matthew M. Neely (D) of West Virginia charges that the oil lobby appears to be more powerful than the President, the Congress, and the people. He asks, and well may he ask, if "the major oil companies have become a supergovernment." Arthur S. Flemming, Director of Defence Mobilization, freely admits that the oil companies do not have a government official as a chairman of their "Middle East emergency committee" nor does it include government officials (Christian Science Monitor, Feb. 5, 1957). Moreover this gang of oil barons made "no response" to an appeal for more production.

Now, if these gangsters will thumb their noses at their own government is it hard to believe that they will take every possible short cut to power when dealing with foreign feudal chieftains and invalid empires? And what of their attitude to the UN? Naturally they will use it while they can. They used it in Korea, and, while they didn't get everything they wanted, they did get access to the tungsten above the 38th parallel in North Korea. Most of the time they just ignore it.

But suppose the USSR finds a way to use the UN to stymie US Big Business in its grab for world power. Employing the Arab-Asian bloc as the US employed the Latin-American and West Europe bloc, suppose the USSR is able to bring China back to the UN, weaken the hold of the US on Japan and even on some of the Latin Americans restive under dollar dictatorship. In such a case do you suppose US Big Business would waste another moment in the UN? We think they would take a walk.

It is hard to imagine a UN without the US in it. But it may come to pass. Bandung showed the way to what may happen if the UN shuts its doors.

HROMADKA ASSAILS COLD WAR

(The following piece was published after the outbreak of violence in Hungary and Egypt under the title "The World Crisis Today and Our Responsibility", the leading article by the Rev. Dr. J. L. Hromadka in PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, bulletin issued by Ecumenical Council of Protestant Churches in Czechoslovakia; sent to us through the courtesy of Eleanor Wheeler, American Journalist now living in Czechoslovakia).

We had been continually persuaded that the course of world events over the last few years had rendered improbable any war on a world scale. But events at the end of October and the early part of November show that the cold war can drive nations to the brink of mortal danger, or at least to the point where chaos threatens. Ecumenical circles have not realized so far that the cold war is mobilizing the darkest forces at the very spot where the line is drawn between the different power groups. When we have pointed out the horrors of the cold war, we were sometimes answered with the question whether we want an immobile "status quo" and whether we are not trying to make impossible an ideological and political contest between nations and social systems. "Not at all; we do not want that," is our answer; but a truly creative and fruitful contest between the competing sides will not be possible until the cold war disappears, and the spirit of peaceful co-existence, constructive discussion, and co-operation reigns among nations. For the cold war is nothing other than a consistent and often base effort to undermine morally the order on the other side of the so-called iron or bamboo curtain, and to organize sabotage and espionage.

The cold war, waged by numerous radio stations and financed officially from state resources of one country or another, arouses passions and instincts, suppresses clear, responsible thinking, makes it impossible for people to follow a well-grounded program and goal. Those who wage the cold war take advantage of the just dissatisfaction or serious mistakes of their opponents in order to spread chaos in the thoughts and hearts of noble people who would otherwise be making use of their energy for a genuine and thorough-going correction of errors and for true social and political progress. The cold war is a hothouse for cultivating the most destructive and reactionary forces. It evokes spirits such as the initiators of the cold war could never have imagined.

Why do we speak of the cold war in connection with these latest events? We do this because we consider the events, both in Hungary and in the Suez Canal zone, to be the terrible result of the cold war. We do not want to say that it is a question only of the fruits of the cold war. We want merely to point out that neither in Hungary nor in Egypt could things have gone so far as these terrible consequences if the peoples had not been poisoned by the cold war and if all had sincerely attempted to create an

atmosphere of political wisdom and genuine understanding.

We should like to say a few frank words about both these events. We do not deny that it was necessary to make important changes in the economic and political life of Hungary. The events of the first few days showed that the government was willing to accede to the serious and emphatic efforts for correcting what could be corrected. But it is also true that, either from weakness or because of erroneous decisions, the government lost control of the situation, and that these weaknesses were misused by reactionary forces at home and abroad for actual intervention. Opening of the western borders and the support given by western states, not only to representatives of the emigres, but also to brutal reactionary groups, are evidence that it was a matter of obvious intervention.

In speeches of its official representatives, the western world had made the events in Hungary appear as an attack on Soviet power. Therefore it is also necessary to understand the Soviet intervention. If, in its later stage, the Hungarian uprising was understood and led under the banner of an anti-Soviet crusade, and if it was greeted and supported by the most reactionary elements of the whole world, we must ask whether the step taken by the Soviet Union was not directly forced upon it, not only in the interests of the Hungarian People's Democracy, but for its own security. The United States has announced several times that it will not tolerate Communist governments on the American continent. Who could expect that the Soviet Union would tolerate on its borders a reactionary government, supported by all the reactionary forces of the world? The second week of the Hungarian events showed the lack of program and of ideas among the counter-revolutionaries. This is why there was chaos, destruction and senseless massacre. The cold war was shown here in its most terrible form, precisely because it was primarily an expression of hateful negation without a spark of genuine, purifying creativeness.

We do not know if the events near the Suez Canal, the attack of Israeli forces on Egypt and the British-French ultimatum, and the attack of armed Franco-British forces on Egypt have any connection with the events in Hungary. The question could arise whether they were not co-ordinate, at least in the sense that the West European statesmen took advantage of the confusion in Hungary for timing their campaign against Egypt. We were shocked by the way in which the attack on Egypt was "justified" and carried out. We know few instances in history of such brazen and poorly masked aggression. The attack on Egypt causes such terrible moral harm to the western, so-called Christian and democratic nations, that we cannot understand how it could have occurred. In this case it is not a struggle waged for the freedom of nations and the dignity of mankind. It is the destruction of human lives for coarse material interests. The question of free transit through the Suez Canal could be resolved by international agreement, without bloodshed and without such a grave moral and poli-

tical taint on Christian Europe. Perhaps we do not err if we believe that the smoke and fog caused by the cold war has beclouded the thinking of responsible statesmen.

We are not interested in pronouncing judgment. We want to know what to do to redress the terrible harm done even into the distant future by the events both in Hungary and in Egypt. At the time of the Hungarian storm we feared that the efforts for genuine understanding on a socialist basis among Central European nations would be upset for a long time to come. We feared that we might return to the period before the Second World War, and would again be arduously seeking the way to come closer to each other. But even now much will depend on how much we truly endeavour to re-open the ways we were following in the last ten years, and to seek new ways. We constantly remember our Hungarian brothers in prayer, and wish them wisdom, love and patience in rebuilding what has been shattered. We want to help where our help is needed. We appeal again for the cold war to be stopped, and for the western world to take account of the existence of the socialist states, in order to overcome the sterile and disruptive anti-Soviet anti-communist spirit by one of understanding and co-operation. Only in this way can the shortcomings on all sides be dealt with. Only in this way can human liberties and rights be achieved on a new historical basis. Only thus can conditions be created for hundreds of millions of Asian and European people to look with confidence and sincerity toward the bearers of Gospel tidings. Otherwise predictions concerning the decline in authority of Christian churches and nations will be confirmed again and again.

Note: The bulletin *Protestant Churches in Czechoslovakia* appears regularly in English and German. Those interested in obtaining it can write to the editors at Jungmannova 9, Prague II.

NOTES ON THE REVOLT IN HUNGARY

By Louise Harding

Undoubtedly there were hardships and abuses there. Undoubtedly also, in the face of facts now coming out, counter-revolutionaries from outside and inside the country, took advantage of this popular discontent, for their own ends. And it was they who brutally butchered every Communist they could lay hands on. See "Pacific Tribune" (Vancouver) for a report by an eyewitness, published in the Budapest Nep Szabadang, organ of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Nov. 9.—

"In the last few days of last week the number of these (workers' protesting) delegations fell away. On the other hand the number of other delegations tended to increase. To be exact, they were not delegations, because nobody had sent them.

"Instead of people dressed in workers' clothes, there appeared

people dressed in officers' uniforms recently taken out of moth-balls, fur coats and fur-lined overcoats. The corridors of parliament were filled with heel-clicking former landowners, shareholders and Horthyist officers . . . . . .

"They began discussing such things as whether 100 or 200 acres of land should be given back to landowners whose land had been nationalized because of collaboration with fascists. Former factory owners and shareholders calling themselves Social Democrats arrived to discuss whether factories employing 100 or 150 workers should be de-nationalized and returned to their former owners . . . Old titles such as "your excellency" and "your grace" flew through the air . . . Honest people in the government looked on helplessly . . . "

Munich, Nov. 12 (AP)

> "Michel Gordey, correspondent for the Paris newspaper France-Soir, who is just back from Budapest, wrote today:
>
> 'We heard a lot of false news about what was going on inside Budapest. We also heard on Radio Free Europe, broadcasting from Munich toward the satellite countries, programs whose impassioned tone and desperate calls to revolt certainly did a lot of wrong.' "

Chicago Daily News, Dec. 15:—

> "In its newscasts, RFE did report a statement of Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, to the effect that the United States would not let Hungary down in its time of trouble."

In an article in "Pacific Tribune," Dec. 14, Phyllis Rosner quotes *Freies Wort*, paper of the West German Free Democratic party, Nov. 9:—

> "We are convinced that from the start and in the first line the aggressive propaganda of Radio Free Europe bears a good share of the blame for the bloodbath in Hungary in the past 14 days."

The Rosner article says:

> "Eugene Holman is chairman of the board of Standard Oil of New Jersey. He is also chairman of the board of Crusade for Freedom. The connection between the two chairmanships may be more than coincidental.
>
> "Standard of New Jersey had extensive oil interests in Hungary, eight million acres of oil lands on lease from the fascist Horthy regime. The lease was cancelled when a socialist government was established after the Second World War.
>
> "*Crusade for Freedom* finances and controls the two principal propaganda agencies that encouraged the Hungarian people to revolt. These are *Radio Free Europe* (which operates an extensive network of radio broadcasts to Eastern Europe, and *Free Europe Press*, which deluged Hungary and other counties with balloons loaded with leaflets."

Accompanying photographs with captions mention the follow-

ing noted champions of liberty, to-wit:

Benjamin Fairless (U.S. Steel) is one of the U.S. big businessmen who direct Radio Free Europe.

Next, Lucius Clay, ex-army officer, who betrayed his country, while in Germany, by disobeying government directives to decartelize W. Germany. As chief of Am. Occupation forces in Germany, he nullified the wishes of the voters of Hessen, 70 per cent of whom had voted for the nationalization of coal, lime and ore mines, iron and steel works, power stations, and railway and trolley bus lines. Also to make subject to state administration or control, big banks, together with the above named enterprises, whose headquarters were located outside the Provinces of Hesse. Clay prevented this article of the Constitution being put into force.

Nov. 30. *Wall Street Journal* said, Free Europe "bills have been picked up for the most part by such corporations as Standard Oil of New Jersey, U. S. Steel and the Ford Motor Company which contribute to *Crusade for Freedom.*

The Rosner article lists among the directors of *Crusade for Freedom:* Gwilym Price, Pres. Westinghouse Electric; Harlow M. Curtice, Pres. General Motors; Benjamin Fairless, ret. pres. U. S. Steel; Roger M. Blough, chmn. U. S. Steel; Harvey S. Firestone, head of Firestone Rubber; Norman Chandler, publisher Los Angeles Times.

As to those balloons set afloat over Soviet lands, "Washington Observer" (Churchman, Mch. 18, 1956) quotes N. Y. Times (Feb. 12, 1956) :—

> "For the past twenty months a paper blizzard has been sifting down night and day over the satellite lands of eastern Europe—some 250,000,000 leaflets spilling forth from more than 400,000 balloons."
>
> The balloons are launched in Germany by American organizations acting in close liaison with the State Department. In January 1956, decisions were made in Washington to step up the balloon program. According to a dispatch by the Washington Bureau Chief of the Hearst newspapers, the new cold war campaign of "rolling back communism throughout the world . . . has been spearheaded by Secretary of State Dulles and Vice President Nixon." The aim of the new dynamic program is the following:
>
> "To co-ordinate the work of resistance groups behind the iron curtain (and) to keep alive the hope of liberation among the populations of communist satellite nations. *There are aspects involving underground operations which cannot be detailed for security reasons." (Journal American Jan. 9, 1956).*
>
> Remember that tunnel dug under the Soviet portion of Berlin, and the claim of the prudently-unnamed U.S. military official that the affair was all a mystery? The cables leading to Russia were tapped by the electrical lines in this elaborate

tunnel, and the East Berliners allowed sightseeing expeditions into the tunnel.

Further about the balloons, the article adds, citing *U.S. News* and World Report, Feb. 17, 1956:—

> The balloons
> "might tomorrow carry incendiary bombs, T. V. cameras, nuclear bombs, germs or poison gas." These modern strategic balloons, says *U.S. News*, are cheap to produce and they can carry "1500 pounds pay load consisting of dozens of incendiary bombs, or even big containers filled with bacteria for germ warfare."
> . . . . . These "weather" balloons are not so harmless as Mr. Dulles described them. There are lots of American balloons, says the *Christian Science Monitor* (Feb. 13, 1956) "shooting along the jet stream above Russian territory, 10 to 20 miles high, snapping continuous strip pictures of everything underneath."
>
> How the public has been lied to, about those balloons. Such lies are criminal.

The article continues:—

> "it is noteworthy that *Life* magazine reported on Nov. 21, 1955, that the Strategic Air Command was ready 'for the biggest photographic job in history: the mapping of the U.S.S.R." The Air Force, said *Life*, was waiting only for the permission to do the big job but 'they are also ready to do this without permission.' A few weeks later the Airforce got the nod . . . by Mr. Dulles: 'It was learned today by INS that Secretary of State Dulles and his brother, Allan Dulles, who directs the Central Intelligence Agency, were personally consulted. They gave the go-ahead for the gamble which has brought protests from Russia and her Iron Curtain satellites . . . "*(Journal American*, Fwb. 12, 1956).
>
> "The Dulles balloon 'gamble' has brought new embarrassment to the President Eisenhower's plan for 'open air inspection which now appears in a bad light and our position in the U.N. Conference on Disarmament is greatly discredited."

How Things Are Apt to Go in Wartime.

S. F. Chronicle carried the following account by Leslie Bain, for No. Am. Newspaper Alliance, written from Vienna:

He said that the whole bloody upheaval of the last few days "apparently erupted out of a misunderstanding." Thursday morning (the 25th) people were going to their jobs. "The populace was nearly drained of passion from the preceding momentous days of revolt. Important gains had been made, everyone thought, and the nightmare seemed to be lifting." Three Soviet tanks stood in front of a hotel, and the Russians were fraternizing with members of the crowd. Hungarians and Russians kissed and shook hands, and the Russians agreed to lead a parade to the Parliament Building. Flag-waving Hungarians climbed on top of the

tanks. The parade moved into Kossuth Square.

But the Hungarian security police, on guard before Parliament Building, not knowing that Russians were inside at the controls, assumed rebels had taken over the tanks and were leading the citizens for an attack. The police panicked and opened fire.

The Russians thought they had been led into a trap. They began shooting wildly with their big guns, since the small ones had previously been unloaded in a demonstration to show the people the Russians were friendly. "Screaming, running people were mowed down indiscriminately. Hundreds of the people who had been laughing and in a holiday mood moments before, were dead and several hundred were injured. Within an hour the city was decked with black flags and the people were in a towering rage against the Russians and AVH (police) troops. The war, which had been stopped, was on again."

Francisco Franco is shocked about Hungary.—Franco, whose pleasant method of disposing of Republicans in Spain has been to hunt them down, throw them into wells, toss in gasoline, and follow with a match. Franco, who is detested by the Spanish people and sustained in power only by $$$ from USA. Recently, the great musician, Pablo Casals, talking on a radio program, said acidly that the Franco regime is kept alive by those claiming to represent democracy. "I have met with great privation and difficulty in carrying out my design" (not to play in public as long as Franco lasts in Spain) "But I have the satisfaction of having done my duty," said this truly great man.

Who else weeps over the lack of liberty in *Hungary*. Why, Chiang Kai-shek, to be sure, under whose regime the people died like flies, from starvation and cold.

And the French imperialists, concerning whose activities Nehru said (Dec. 23, in an interview with Edgar McGinnis, pres. of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs): "I have long waited for a gesture from France in Algeria, where matters are worse than they are in Hungary."

And what's this we hear from London? It's the protesting voice of Canon Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral, over the hanging of three young lads in Kenya, for the crime of carrying a bullet in their pockets? The British imperialists, too, have shed salty tears over harsh deeds in *Hungary*.

Nov. 29, the London Daily Herald noted that, in Cyprus today, judges *must* impose the death penalty on those found carrying firearms or "consorting with terrorists." And, in September, three young boys were shot there, too.

Jan. 12 (AP) Tunis—Tunisian authorities said today a low-flying French plane mechinegunned a group of Tunisan women working in a field near Sbeitla, killing one and wounding three.

Tunisian government and F r e n c h embassy officials launched an investigation."

—From which nothing seems to have been heard. But, of course, this did not occur in a *Communist*-run land, such as Hungary.

In a statement put out for "Human Rights Day", the President of USA denounced *Soviet* terrorism in Hungary. He said it has moved the "free world" to "horror and revulsion." This from the one who had so very much to do about the Hiroshima bomb-throwing. Your reporter at this point feels nauseated, and quits for the day. One can stand only so much cant.

A RHODES SCHOLAR IN WASHINGTON

"Trial Balance: The Education of an American" (Pantheon Books Inc., 333 Sixth Ave., N.Y. 14; $4.50) is the self-analysis of Alan Valentine, Rhodes Scholar, one-time president of Rochester University, who was ECA Mission Chief in the Netherlands and later the first chief of the Economic Stabilization Agency in Washington. In 1951 he accepted leadership which he continues to hold of "a private organization to assist the free peoples of Asia to fight communism in their own countries." His committee aided the "Nationalists in Formosa" in disseminating in China "information about the merits of democracy and the evils of communism."

Valentine's various political jobs opened his eyes to some (a few) of the harsh realities of US politics. For instance, as stabilizer his directives were nullified or revised; he found he was just window-dressing, and he resigned. As mission chief in the Netherlands he disagreed violently with the State Department's policy of forcing what he thought was a premature separation of the new Republic of Indonesia from the Dutch. And, apart from his disagreement, he was shocked by the "confusions, pedantries, rivalries, rumor-mongerings, double-crossings and inefficiencies he had seen rampant in Washington."

National Egotism: This is a valuable memoir because it throws a curious indirect light on the problem which America is to itself and (tragically) to the world. It is a problem of the ego. Not uniquely an American problem, it is implied in nationalism and is found in every nation. The US ego is flamboyant and irks the frustrated egos of Britain and France. Like Hitler at the fall of France Uncle Sam appears to be dancing a jig of jubilation as the plums of the old empires fall into his tall hat. And the world at large is terrified because of the inordinate power with which America has suddenly become endowed and the concentration of that power in a very few, very greedy hands. America has not had time to develop the wisdom and restraint necessary to guide her footsteps on the path of money-empire. Her methods are crass. She elbows her competitors aside. She moves in and moves her victims out.

This rough-playing offends an academic soul like Valentine. But Valentine sees nothing wrong with the game itself. He simply wants his country to play it with a little more consideration for the old imperial powers so that they may retain some share in the spoil. Communism is just a bad word to Valentine. He doesn't discuss it. He takes for granted all the usual stereotypes. We are "free"; they are "slaves." This white-and-black attitude is scarcely good enough for a true academic. But Valentine is an academic who is ambitious to break through the college walls and taste the rich raw world outside. He does break out of college, and he must have considerable executive ability of a kind to have been trusted in such important positions of state. But he never seems to have broken through or grown out of his fundamental credulity, his infantile assumptions as to "American" institutions, habits of thought and prejudices. He is more puzzled than angered when he gets the time-honoured run-around and double-cross from the party hacks at Washington.

It was ironically appropriate that Valentine's break with the administration came through his appointment of the head on Monsanto Chemical Company (one of the US companies with which I.G. Farben of ill fame had cartel agreements) as Price Director. This was vetoed by Truman who appointed a political pal, Di Salle, to the job. It was then Valentine learned about in-fighting in the Truman Administration. He asked Truman to fire Di Salle. He was told by a third party that Truman would not fire Di Salle but would welcome his (Valentine's) resignation.

All this, says Valentine, came under the heading of education, and it was "expensive, especially to his ego." Well, Valentine did learn a lot but he doesn't seem to have been able to find any pattern in what he learned. It is all a jumble. He found ECA officers instructed to explain to American businessmen that Europe should buy its own products with European currency wherever possible. And he found that American consuls were, in obedience to their orders from the State Department, encouraging and helping all American businessmen in Europe to sell all they could to Europeans. Different departments were doing diametrically opposite things. This was quite true, but amid all these apparent contradictions *there was a tendency*, a tendency which is clearly exposed in a book like "All Honorable Men." Partly a drift, partly an intention, the tendency was to incorporate Western Europe in the American Empire and to draw from it new Hessians to attack the Russian Revolution. Valentine's interest in politics can scarcely be called objective. His interest was rather in his own soul. This he is frank to admit, and at the end of the book he says of himself: "He needed to find some way to warm his heart without warming his ego." The chapter in which he says this is called "Unity and Diversity." There are endearing qualities in this chap-

ter; many true things are said in it, many half-true and quarter-true things; but the effect of the whole is to this reader a missing of the point and a false direction.

Take an example: Valentine "thought he saw what is putting twentieth-century America off the track in its pursuit of unity. It is seeking its unities through low common denominators and second-rate appeals, in political and international expediencies and compromises, in the economic integration of material goods and power, in acceptance of the most popular values of a rather thoughtless and not very cultivated mass society."

This would be all right if he had first identified America with the plutocracy that rules it. Without this identification it gives a false direction. He forgets or ignores the surge of creativity among the people of America during those days under Roosevelt when the influence of the plutocracy was momentarily lifted from them and they felt that they had some control of their destiny. He speaks of the mass market as if it were a creation of the masses instead of the hucksters who control the airwaves and newspapers. This confusion runs through all his judgments.

And another follows it: the old platonic fallacy that separates the spiritual life from the material. This is an expensive fallacy, usually indulged in by those to whom the material basis of their lives is so taken for granted that it and the methods by which it was procured are completely ignored. A man's inner life is spiritual, personal, and "no one's business but his own," says Valentine and in the next breath he complains that society neglects "to set an atmosphere that would encourage the individual to find his personal unity." He is right to complain, but his complaint doesn't go deep enough. Individual means undivided means united. And a person only becomes undivided, becomes inwardly united as he is related creatively to an undivided society. Deprived of the air of that relationship he is choked. But if society is at odds with itself, as American society definitely is at odds with itself today, if there is class and race strife in society, these are bound to be reflected in its members who can no longer be called individuals.

Valentine is dissatisfied with American society because (he thinks) it is too egalitarian. "Of the group interests of modern democracy, the most powerful is that of the organized workers, since they are the most numerous, since they are the chief creators and consumers of goods, and since they control the physical power on which American civilization depends." Here he confounds potential with actual power. Still, although there are many things he dislikes about American society his ego is strong enough (reflecting the American imperial ago) to tell the Chinese through his Free Asia broadcasts that they should return from the path they have chosen and follow us!

LETTERS

"LOUISE HARDING'S *MEDITATIONS ON IKE DAY* is a document of great historical value. The comments by James L. Brewer about the political bankruptcy of both Republicans and Democrats are very accurate. Your *Well Springs of Revelation* provides penetrating insights . . . "—A. Garcia Diaz, New York.

"Your periodical has something to say—something we want to know. Therefore a *must* on our reading list:"—Marion E. Perry, Cal.

"Your magazine is the most enlightening reading to be had. May it last many years in the future."—Mrs. Sigrid Kuhn, New York.

"The Nov.-Dec. issue of New Christian came recently and was a most satisfying number. Thank you for the discussions, all of them."—Mrs. R. H. Ashley, Indiana.

"Your Nov.-Dec. issue is most satisfactory. I do thank you for your clarifying analysis of the European situation."—Marian E. Herrick, Calif.

"Please send me some extra copies of the Nov.-Dec. issue, the best you have ever put out."—Olive Carroll, Utah.

"Your analysis of the situation in Hungary, "Cold War Burns Hungary," is the first help I've received since this really pitiful situation started. Thank you for bringing out the elements that make it so tragic and so different from our News picture of it."—H.L.D., Illinois.

"Your high quality output continues apace and it is a needed source of fortification for me . . . As nuclear strength approaches infinity, security approaches zero."—Dr. Ralph R. Sackley, Illinois.

" . . . last issue on Hungary excellent, comes at a time when I need moral support to counteract the stories emanating from the press."—N. E. Cooke, Florida.

"New Christian is like a fresh breeze in a poisoned atmosphere." —J.C.R. Minnesota.

"Ever since the "20th Congress" I have been in a slough of despond, sinking deeper and deeper every time a new poison report issued from the 'free enterprise' press or radio. But New Christian, that island of hope, has buoyed me up, especially the Nov.-Dec. issue." —C.D.W., Pennsylvania.

"Enthusiastic and deeply grateful for Nov.-Dec. issue."—C. F. Weller, Florida.

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"I greatly enjoy and profit from each copy I receive of the 'New Christian' so that I look forward to its arrival in the mail. I thought the article written by James L. Brewer entitled 'From Beyond the Seas', was outstanding. The sermon in the current number, 'No Religion in Politics', by Reverend Stanley Evans is

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"I know I have learned from its ('New Christian) pages through the years more tolerance and understanding than from the other dozen or so publications (of progressive outlook) put together." —J. L., Ontario.

EDITOR'S NOTE: We were gratified by the response to our comments on Hungary. In each of these successive crises we are apt to lose a few subscribers. The Korean crisis lost us many. The Hungarian exactly one. Many subscribers have doubled their usual subscription and this has been a great help. Now we would like to have double the *number* of subscribers. Never satisfied, are we?

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